cries of joy: "Abantu abengi baisa, bayaula kapundu, balakakasha, balasempula abati: mulemésha, mulenaisha, muletemesha." If there is no success, silence reigns in the house. At dawn the nasenge (paternal aunt) comes to pick up the unhappy wife and takes her home. This means that the marriage is broken. The crowds who have gathered to celebrate disperse again. (Cases of impotent husbands are rather rare. On the other hand I have heard of cases where the husband was rendered impotent by drugs /mit/ which had been mixed in his food. I know of a verified case right here at Malolé.) 565 833 757

Kuoa (the bath). Once the sexual act has been accomplished, the two spouses get up and at dawn they go to the river. The husband places himself upstream, the wife downstream, as they wash. After the bath they both return to their hut. They find that the hearth fire has been thrown out and that the center of the hut has been whitewashed. They will remain seated without fire. 515 585

Lúnweno (small vessel). The nasenge comes up holding a small earthenware lunweno in her hand. She lights a new fire near the foot of the bed /nzambalila/, where she places three small ant nests /tumafwasa/ to hold up the small vessel. Together the three of them (aunt, husband and wife) pick up the small vessel full of water, holding it by the rim with two fingers, and place it on the fire. They wait until the water starts to boil. The aunt /nasenge/ then draws a little water by means of a very small ladle and pours some of it over the hands of both husband and wife. 585

Kabwali (a small meal). Then the aunt, who has previously brought along some flour, prepared a small meal for the two. When the bwali is cooked, she takes a mouthful /lutosh/ or a pellet and tosses one into the mouth of each. The spouses then may finish the bwali by themselves. Meanwhile the little vessel remains on the fire until the fire goes out. Before taking it off /ipula/, a present must be found for the aunt who has lent the vessel. The couple give her a chirundu, or mat. Then she takes back her vessel, replacing it by another, called the kanongo.

Kanongo or Kapalwilo. The aunt brings this new little vessel saying: "Eko muleumina ko," i.e., when the couple must /220/ have sexual intercourse, they take bow, arrows and hatchet out of the hut. Together they put water into the little vessel and repeat the preceding ceremony. 585 534

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crosses the Kalungu river near the capital at dead of night and has ritual intercourse with a woman given him for the purpose on the spot selected for the building of the *kamitembo*. Thus he 'warms the bush' (*ukukafye mpanga*) and leaves immediately afterwards secretly for his own village. On the place where his sleeping mat lay, one of the *bakabilo*, Cishika, the hereditary lighter of the chief's fire, must immediately make new fire by friction. This is the chief's sacred fire. The same patch of grass serves as site for the *kamitembo* house built a day or so after by all the *bakabilo* in concert after prayers by the Citimukulu and the burial of flour, salt, meat, and fish in the foundations. Once built the sacred hearth must be installed (*ukuteka ishiko*) and this is done as the climax of the long ceremonial founding of the village,[1] by killing a female sheep, and cooking it in the hut on the sacred fire with salt made from river grasses. This use of the traditional salt of the tribe is said to ensure that the land may be savoured (*calo cilowe*). Two big baskets are then cooked on the same hearth and carried to the chief, who tastes the porridge and meat and then hands it to all his *bakabilo* to eat. This is the way in which the 'spirits are put into the hut' (*ukubika mipashi mu punda*), so that the life of the new village may begin.

After this the chief's fire burns perpetually in the *kamitembo* as also in two other sacred houses in the village and it remains under the special charge of the *umukolo*.[2] No person of sexual vigour may enter for fear of polluting the fire, and the chief's messages are carried there by small boys. Within the hut were piled in the old days the carrying poles on which tribute of beer and meat had been slung—signs of the chief's greatness—and the elephant tusks brought him. This is no longer done, but the beer required for big sacrifices to the land spirits is brewed in the *kamitembo*, and the chief and his head wife sleep here during this period, keeping sex taboos all the while. This is described as 'waiting for the yeast of the land' (*ukulindilo musunga ne calo*). Animals killed for sacrifices are also killed here, and the new crops cooked before being offered for the first-fruits are

[1] The ceremony of founding the last new village for the Citimukulu took from May to September 1933. I witnessed the first part of the ceremony but not the installation of the sacred hearth.

[2] The *umukolo* should only have ritual intercourse with the chief on ceremonial occasions and therefore as a person sexually pure remains a fit guardian of the tribal fire.

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241 is very much liked as a food, but it does not grow well on all soils, and needs a good deal of labour to protect it from birds. Therefore it is less and less planted. Nevertheless, it is still the crop which has the greatest ritual importance, and there is something almost romantic in the natives' attitude to it. People stop at a field where it is grown and smile and say, 'How lucky the owner is to have such [643] good soil.' They describe *amasaka* districts with appreciation. It is associated with chieftainship, since Kaffir corn is necessary for much of the tribal ritual, and the greater supply of labour at the capital makes it easier to grow it. The perennial Kaffir corn (*sonkwe*) is easier to grow since it is not attacked by birds, but many Bemba do not rate its flour very highly. Both types are 241 doctored before sowing in some families (*icibyabilo*), and must •834 be protected from contact with sex. In the old days a man had 761 to purify himself after intercourse and wait three days before sowing the Kaffir corn. The crop is also considered to be injured by contact with death. 'People say: A hot person (i.e. a person who has not been ritually purified after a sex act) should not spoil the Kaffir corn; and a new death, it must not spoil it either.'[1] In the old days Kaffir-corn seeds were rubbed with a piece of dough, which had been made with water heated in the tiny marriage pot used to purify a chief mourner after the act of ritual intercourse with which he removed the taint of death from his family or village. This dough was thought to protect the seeds, as it contained elements of heat from contact with sex, and of cold from contact with death, and hence inoculated the crops against both dangers. 241 Many of these beliefs are dying now, but the tribal sacrifices of the Bemba still coincide with its first-fruit ceremony (cf. pp. 374–8); its flour is used to scatter over the dead body of a chief, and his corpse cannot be buried until the cycle of the Kaffir-corn harvest is at an [881] end. The flour is used to fill the sacred basket in the chief's relic hut. At one point in the girl's initiation ceremonies she lays her head on *amasaka* seeds. For all these reasons, the Bemba grow Kaffir corn whenever they can, and Citimukulu plants it definitely for ceremonial purposes. He went out himself with his sons to reap it during my visit and called me specially to watch the process. He kept saying it was 'good' (*cawama*) for a chief to grow Kaffir corn.

Two other old crops of the Bemba are handled ritually, but are

[1] *Bafwile bakulu teti bamonde masuka: no nfwa ndishi tekuti tomonde masuka.*

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casual and light-hearted affairs, more like an English picnic than a serious job of work. On one such occasion the company was about twenty or thirty strong, men, women, and children,[1] and carried provisions for a day or two's expedition as well as the baskets of *ububa* and pestles to pound it. On the banks of the river it is common to find remains of grass shelters used on previous expeditions, and little hollows in the ground made by those who had pounded *ububa* leaves there on other occasions. Here the women gathered together in twos and threes, each with a heavy pestle, and stamped the leaves in rhythm. Each trio was composed of near relatives, three sisters, or a mother and daughters, any kinship group in fact that had worked jointly at the cultivation of the *ububa*, and had rights of ownership over it. The women sang special fishing ditties while the men lay idly by and shouted the flirtatious remarks that are typical of activities in which the two sexes co-operate in groups.

When the baskets were filled with the crushed leaves they were carried to the edge of the river. The first day of this communal fishing demands special prayers to the chiefs of the land (*ukyo-mfumu ukye calo*) to open the season. They must be uttered by the headman, often a descendant of the dead chiefs, and at any rate appointed to his position by the present holder of the title. On this occasion the headman was in a state of ritual impurity, so the task devolved on his maternal grandson, a boy of ten, sexually immature and therefore incapable of ceremonial defilement.

He was called on by the eldest man present by the honorific plural *Ba*, and both gravely knelt on the grass with crushed *ububa* in their hands. The old man recited the names of the dead chiefs 'the owners of the land', and then both threw a handful of the crushed leaves into the stream. Every one stood a moment and then the children plunged into the river with the big baskets of *ububa* and began rinsing the contents to and fro in the water (*ukusungula*). The height of the river only stood to the children's waists, the ideal height for fish poisoning.

The *ububa* appeared to dissolve quickly in water since the whole surface was green with it, but it took about half an hour to act on the fish. In fact in some cases I was told the poison is put in overnight.

[1] Only the old people remain behind to watch the babies, and any menstruating women, since the latter are believed to bring ill luck to the fishing, the only Bemba activity which is subject to this common taboo.

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bufumu ico mfumu ilelalapo). The whole of this conception must be considered against the background of the people's belief in the supernatural powers of their chiefs, and the influence of his sexual capacities on the fertility of the land.[1]

(*c*) ***The purification of the priest.*** Since sex intercourse makes it impossible to approach the *imipashi* or to enter their shrines, the ritual purification of the officiating priest and his wife, after the blessing of the axe or seeds, is an essential act in each economic rite. It is one which is performed before every solemn prayer or sacrifice to the *imipashi*, before the founding of a new village, an inheritance ceremony, a death or the birth of twins, &c., either by the chief, the headman, or the commoner, as the case may be. In the case of a commoner or an ordinary headman, this rite of purification (*ukusunsya umubili*) is simple. The morning after the sexual act, the couple set on the fire the woman's marriage pot—a tiny clay pot made for her by her paternal aunt on her marriage—and they heat water in it. This the wife then pours over her husband's hands. Both then bathe in the river and return to the village, after which new fire must be lighted in the hut. Sex taboos are kept by the pair until the ceremony in question is over. In the case of the chief, and particularly the Citimukulu, this rite is, however, exceedingly complex. It involves the simultaneous ritual intercourse of the chief and the 'wife of the land' (*umukolo wa calo*), and the Cimba and the Cikutwe with their respective head wives in huts built specially for the purpose. Afterwards twelve or fifteen of the *bakabilo* must assist, each with his own hereditary part, in the purification ceremony and the lighting of the new fire. Without purifying his body the chief can never enter his *benye* house or use his powers over the land to the full, but the complication and expense of a rite which requires the simultaneous presence of so many officials is one of the reasons why the full ceremonial of tree-cutting or first-fruits described later is so rarely performed nowadays, when chiefs are impoverished and cannot always command the loyalty of their *bakabilo*.

(*d*) ***The divination rite.*** Except in the case of first-fruit rites, each ceremony, whether tree-cutting or blessing of seeds, is followed by some act of divination in which the intentions of the *imipashi* are revealed to their descendants. Here the element of individual doubt and uncertainty is apparent again. There are

[1] Cf. p. 249.

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769 796 651 spirits, and even when the foods of the bush—caterpillars, mushrooms, or ants—are very plentiful, a special *mukabilo* (Munuca) performs an *ukuposela* ceremony to offer 'the owners of the land' the fruits of the bush 'because they have given us a lot this year'.

769 796 At the capital, according to the usual custom, the new foods are exposed in the *benye* house instead of being placed at the end of the headman's bed. They are afterwards cooked in the *kamitembo*, the sacred kitchen (cf. p. 148), and then ritually tasted by the chief, his children, and the *bamukabenye*. This is the act known as *ukunumata*, 'to taste', as distinct from *ukuposela*, 'to offer'. It was possibly done in commoners' villages formerly, but now only at the chief's court.

769 796 273 A more impressive form of the *ukunumata* takes place at times of great plenty at the capital,[1] when beer made from the new Kaffir corn is ritually tasted by the chief and all his *bakabilo*—a symbolic presentation of the hierarchical order of Bemba society. For this special rite (*ukunumata masaka*) the *bakabilo* must be summoned, and the chief purified. Beer is first brewed by the head wife in the *kamitembo*, and after purification the Paramount and his wife sleep here, keeping sex taboos till the beer is brewed. This is known as *ukulindilo mununga*, 'to watch for the yeast'.[2] During this time flour made from the new crop has been exposed in the *benye* house for the blessing of the *imipashi*, and some of this is then sprinkled on the sacred beer, to be drunk by the Paramount and the chief *bakabilo* inside the *benye* house, and by the rest in order of seniority outside. After this, the Munuca rubs some of the sacred flour on the chests of the *bakabilo* present, and thus makes them free to celebrate first-fruit rites of their own in their own villages. Later a basket must be carried to the shrines of Kafula, a chief who died of smallpox and was therefore buried alone near the present capital. If liked, the *ulupepo lukalamba* can then begin. Such a ceremony is obviously one of the elaborate alternative forms of the economic rites described above. It was performed apparently three times in Sampa's reign and three times in Cikwanda's. The present Citi-

[1] 'When the land is boiling over'—*Icalo calilabila*.

[2] Compare the function of the Mulemba Cimfwembe in 'watching the trees of the land' and of the Kamenge in 'watching the chief's seeds'. The *cishiko*, the lighter of the chief's sacred fire, has also to 'watch' the new fire when a village is being built. There seems to me some protective power in the presence of a man keeping sex taboos.

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789 [754] witchcraft, handled by people believed to have supernatural powers.

(ii) *The magic influence of sex, blood and fire* which, when brought 789 into wrongful contact with each other, are thought to be highly 831 dangerous to every Bemba, but particularly to babies and young 372 children, who are believed to be vulnerable to so many dangers; and to chiefs, on whom the prosperity of the land is held to depend. This system of beliefs is extremely complex, and yet it is necessary to try to understand it, if the meaning of the chisungu is to be grasped. The dogma relating sex and fire is the *idée maîtresse* behind most of the ritual behaviour of the Bemba.

834 Briefly speaking, sex relations according to Bemba dogma make 784 a couple 'hot'. In this state it is dangerous for them to approach 783 the ancestral spirits in any rite of prayer or sacrifice; and any chief 622 or headman who attempted to perform such a ceremony without purification would run the risk of bringing disaster on his district. [793] The chief's shrines are guarded by old women or hereditary priests who keep sex taboos. For the chief to be casual in keeping sex taboos, or to approach his ancestors without purification is 'to spoil the land' (*ukuonaula icalo*).

831 All persons of sex maturity are in fact distinguished by a special 372 term (*wa kuboko*) and are excluded from a number of rites on the 784 ground that they are 'hot', or are likely to be 'hot'. Such people 783 can pollute the fireplace of a hut by touching it, and then a baby 854 fed with gruel cooked on this fire might sicken and die. Parents 846 who do not purify themselves after intercourse run the risk of killing their children by accidentally touching the family hearth. Adulterers are more dangerous still, as they cannot purify themselves since the necessary rite can only be carried out by husband and wife. Small babies and their mothers are therefore kept away from beer drinks where 'bad' people congregate drinking round the fire without care. The baby's gruel is often cooked on a separate hearth and in a separate pot. The art of Bemba motherhood in fact consists very largely in guarding children from danger from fire. A newly born baby is 'unripe' (*mubishi*) and is in a specially precarious position until it has been 'taken' by its parents (*ukupoka umwana*) by an act of intercourse and the lighting of new fire, when it is a few months old. To save the baby, it must be 'brought to the fire' by being held over the flames of a doctored

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The Ceremony

881 606 372a This was received with shocked protest, 'No, this isn't just ordinary fire. Alas, Mother! We can't use matches.' It seemed an impasse.

At last, to the intense relief of everyone, the wood shaving set to catch the sparks began to smoke and a little flame flickered up. Clapping broke out and cries of 'ulla! ulla!' saluted the new fire. It was a curiously moving moment because of the tenseness of the women packed tight on the floor of the hut through the long wait.

The rite is described shortly as 'to beg for parenthood' (*ukulomba ubufyashi*). The father's sister plays the leading part in [842] the ceremony and it is she who by tradition influences the fertility of the girl. 'The sticks must be rubbed on the back of the father's sister so that the girl will bear a child quickly.'

881 825 372 (As we have seen the lion is equated throughout this ceremony with the bridegroom, the chief, or the male principle. Two women when questioned about the song (No. 19) just said, 'The lion is a chief.' Fire is also equated with generation. The girl owes parenthood to the older women who have made fire for her, 'We say to the girl "We women have made your fire for you. We are in pain now. Our hands ache from the rubbing. You must take over now".')[1]

881 372 Twigs and sticks were deftly built round the young flame and a considerable fire began to crackle. Nangoshye crawled towards it on all fours with a water pot on her head. The two girls crawled behind her clasping their arms round her waist. All three lowered the water pot on to the fire with hands and teeth. I have no recorded comments on this part of the rite. I think it almost certainly symbolizes the heating of the marriage pot of the girl which is stood on the fire by an old woman with the bridegroom and bride clasping her waist. It may also signify the handing over of the fire from the old to the young as suggested in the comment above.

881 The seeds in the winnowing basket were now divided out so that each woman had a handful to cook. The remains were thrown into the big pot over the fire, the pot of the *namushimwa*. We all retired exhausted to our own quarters to eat for the first time since morning.

● [834] [1] A.C. adds: 'You cannot beg fire from a woman in a different sexual condition. The girl must have a new fire after her chisungu. She must not have intercourse during menstruation.'

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Appendix B

the secrets of the home. The young woman must look out for the husband who may be waiting like a crocodile to seize her.

No. 44. The garden mound (*mputa*) (Fig. 7. See also p. 97). This figurine was balanced on the girl's head while the company sang:

Mwibala,	Through the garden,
Teti mupite muntu,	No man must pass,
Nga apita ni muka mwaume.	If it is the wife of the man who has passed.

Interpretation. Here again, we have multiple meanings and, to the European at least, great obscurity. The model is a representation of the round garden mounds which it is specifically the woman's duty to cultivate. One informant said glibly, 'No one

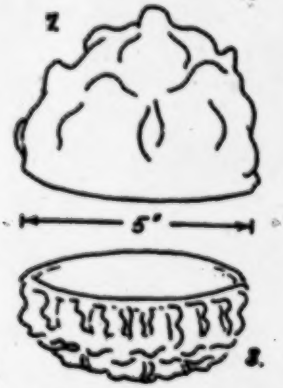

Fig. 7. The garden mound.
Fig. 8. The garden.
Both used in the second woodland ceremony.

must take a woman's garden.' But the *mputa* represents a cultivated and owned place, e.g. a chief's garden in which it is tabooed to have sex intercourse. 'The married woman is like a garden through which a man should not pass when he knows the girl is someone else's wife. If others respect his wife, he should do the same to theirs.'

No. 45. The gardens (*Amabala*) (Fig. 8. See also p. 96). This is one of the *mbusa* carried out into the bush for one of the cere-

791 The *ng'anga* (magicians) of whose activity little is known, dwelt in a
798 banana grove just south of the capital which no outsiders could enter on pain of death.(1)

782 Human sacrifices were made at the capital.(2) Victims were prisoners
789 of war and, failing them, the Kazembe's own subjects. Human blood, hearts
787 and entrails are mentioned among the ingredients of which medicines were
[726] made.(3) Horns containing medicine were supposed to give protection from witchcraft. Before any hazardous enterprise - war, hunting, travel - was undertaken, an oracle was consulted(4) and, if prospects looked auspicious, a medicine was prepared.(5)

264 The Kazembe was said to receive warnings of hostile machinations in
643 dreams. If he dreamt of someone more than once this was a sign that the
787 man was plotting against him and must be put to death.(6) Crawford was informed that the Kazembe was ritually insulted during his meals, and he describes this in some detail.(7) "The king eats in a mysterious mode called *kapodio*... The 'old doctors' cursed him while he ate, his face veiled: 'Kazembe should die! He is no man! A beast! Kill the beast, oh! son of Temena (his mother's name)' ". The *ondo* was sounded to let people know that Kazembe was having his meal, and no one else was allowed to eat at the same time.

834 Ritual cleansing is prescribed after sexual intercourse. A man who
783 kills a lion has to be washed in *nshipa* medicine by the headman before he can enter the village, and may not eat or speak till this has been done.

226 A wealth of ritual attached to fishing. Ritual authority was vested
789 in the Shila "owners of the land".(8) The ceremony of *ukufungule subi* (unlocking the fish) was performed annually towards the middle of the dry season on all the waters except the Luapula which "belongs to God". Bits of medicine were attached to the nets in order to ensure a good catch and prevent the nets from being torn. Charms were worn by fishermen or suspended at the bows to protect the canoe from being capsized by hippo or
[784] crocodiles. When the canoe was first launched the women sprinkled it with a little cassava flour to ensure plentiful catches. A women, particularly when carrying a child, was forbidden to step over a net. Sexual
[834] relations were tabooed when the fish were being poisoned. Lake Mweru was apparently never crossed south of Kilwa island, according to Livingstone.(9) At the "cursing" ceremony on Lake Mweru the dead men drowned in the lake were called by name and reprimanded.(10) Those who came safe ashore after their boats had foundered were greeted with a deliverance song and led in a thanksgiving procession.(11)

(1) Gamitto, I, p.358.
(2) Pereira puts the number of human victims at twenty a day (Livingstone, I, p.265). This is probably no more trustworthy than is his statement that Kazembe's army numbered 20,000 trained soldiers. R.J. Moore discusses human sacrifices as if at the time he wrote (1937) they were still common and an essential part of the salt-making ritual. The victim, according to him, is "nowadays usually a child".
(3) Burton, p.126.
(4) ibid., p.228.
(5) ibid., p.128.
(6) Livingstone, I, p.277.
(7) Crawford, 2, p.104.
(8) Livingstone, op.cit., p.252.
(9) op.cit., p.269.
(10) Crawford, op.cit., p.105.
(11) ibid., pp.105-6.

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to claims on the people's services. The potential heirs of a chief within his own branch of the family—that is to say, his brothers, maternal nephews, or maternal grandsons—are treated with particular deference. The former two categories are described as chiefs and addressed by the title *mfumu*, while the latter, only slightly lower in status, are referred to by a special name *beshikulu ba mfumu* ('grandchildren of the chiefs') and have their own ritual and social prerogatives.

Women of the royal line, the mothers, sisters, maternal nieces, and granddaughters of the chiefs are called *banamfumu* and are treated with much the same deference as are the men of the family. The mother of the paramount is highly honoured, succeeds to a fixed title—the *Candamukulu*—takes part in tribal councils, and has several villages of her own. The sisters of chiefs are privileged persons, protected and supported by their royal brothers, and usually granted one or more villages to rule. They are above the law in matters of sex morality, and a princess is allowed to have as many lovers as she pleases, provided she produces many children as potential heirs to the throne.

Not only members of the royal clan, but also persons who merely belong to the *ulupwa* of the chief, can claim high rank, i.e. his relatives on his paternal side, and his own sons. Some fathers of chiefs were nobodies and were quickly forgotten, but some have been famous men, honoured by their sons when the latter succeeded to the throne. The children of chiefs, though not members of his clan, and therefore not heirs, are also entitled to special privileges, and the *bana bamfumu* ('children of the chief') form a class of their own. They are brought up at the court, where they are treated in many ways more favourably than the heirs themselves and are able to claim headmanships and even chieftainships.[1] Even the half-brothers of chiefs, through other fathers (*bakaulu*), have rights to special treatment at court.

Added to this, already numerous class of royal personages are the descendants of close relatives of dead chiefs. Roughly speaking, any person who can claim to be maternal nephew, grandson, or son of a chief is succeeded by a man who continues to hold the same rank by the *ukupyanika* system described on p. 98. He is then addressed as 'chief' or 'son of chief'. The descendants of

[1] A few chieftainships are definitely handed on to 'sons of chiefs' instead of to 'chiefs', e.g. the Makassaship, the Lucembeship, or the Munkongeship.

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in prayer. When a man or woman dies, his or her social personality must be immediately perpetuated by a successor who passes through a special ritual (*ukupyanika*) and thus acquires the name, the symbols of succession (a bow for a man and a girdle for the woman), and the *umupashi* of the dead man. By this social identification, a man assumes the latter's position in the kinship-group, uses the same kinship terms and, in the case of a chief, it is almost impossible to tell when a man is describing incidents which took place in his own life or those of an ancestor two or three generations dead. So important is this social perpetuation of the dead considered that immediately after a death, before the successor has finally been appointed, a small boy or girl, usually a maternal grandchild, is chosen to inherit the name of the deceased temporarily (*ukunwa menshi*, 'to drink the water'). He or she is given some small piece of the latter's property and thereafter addressed as grandfather or grandmother, or whatever the right kinship term may be.

In the same way, a chief, once he has succeeded to the name, the spirit, and the sacred relics of his predecessor, has magic influence over the productive capacity of his whole territory. His ill health or death, his pleasure or displeasure, his blessings or curses, can affect the prosperity of the people, and even his sex life reacts on the state of the community.[1] For a chief to break a sex taboo is an act which may cause calamity to the whole people, and the rites by which he is purified after sexual contacts form one of the most important elements in the politico-religious ceremonial requiring the participation of thirty or forty hereditary officials (*bakabilo*) in the case of the paramount. Conversely, legitimate sex intercourse, especially as prescribed on certain ritual occasions, may actually be a health-giving influence. Any headman has a certain degree of supernatural influence in his own village as the successor to his predecessor's *umupashi*, but a chief has considerably more. For all these reasons, ritual precautions guard the sacred person of a chief. Special taboos must be kept to preserve the ritual purity of the ruler's sacred fire, and his sacred

[1] There are rumours that chiefs were throttled by their hereditary councillors when they were obviously sick unto death, for fear they took 'the land' into the grave with them. This information was sent me by Mr. T. Fox-Pitt after I had left the country and was afterwards checked by Mr. Godfrey Wilson. In fact it is probable that in the old days the Bemba chiefs would fall under Frazer's definition of a 'divine king'.